

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

ACDA-05 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 CU-02 EB-07 STR-04 OMB-01

OIC-02 /090 W

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R 071106Z JUN 75

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3563

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION NATO

USMISSION BERLIN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 4279

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE PFOR XG

SUBJ: CSCE: REMAINING ISSUES IN PRINCIPLES DECLARATION

REF: A) GENEVA 4167 (NOTAL) B) GENEVA 4040; C) GENEVA 3774;
D) GENEVA 3342; E) GENEVA 3332

1. SUMMARY: PACE OF WORK IN SUBCOMMITTEE DRAFTING
PRINCIPLES DECLARATION HAS LAGGED FOR SOME WEEKS AS CONFERENCE
DIRECTED ITS ATTENTION TO KEY BASKET III NEGOTIATIONS.
WITH THOSE NEGOTIATIONS NOW APPARENTLY LEADING TOWARD
RAPID CONCLUSION FAVORABLE ON BALANCE TO WESTERN INTERESTS
AND PRESSURES BUILDING TO BUILD FOR SELECTION FIRM DATE
FOR STAGE III AND DECISION ON LEVEL OF PARTICIPATION, WE
EXPECT MAJOR SOVIET EFFORT TO BREAK PRINCIPLES DECLARATION
LOGJAM AND RESOLVE REMAINING ISSUES THERE IN THEIR FAVOR.
FIRST TRY IN THIS DIRECTION WAS IN FACT MADE JUNE 5 WHEN
SOVIET REP (MENDELVICH) HARRANGUED SUBCOMMITTEE FOR
"SHAMEFUL BEHAVIOR" IN BECOMING "BOGGED DOWN IN SWAMP"
WHILE OTHER SUBCOMMITTEES MADE GREAT PROGRESS. WHILE
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MANY WESTERN INTERESTS APPEAR TO BE IN GOOD SHAPE IN

PRINCIPLES DECLARATION, THERE MAY BE NEED TO CONSIDER
EXTENT TO WHICH ALLIES WILL WISH TO INSIST ON SATISFACTORY
RESOLUTION OF PARTICULAR ISSUES AS REQUIREMENT
FOR CONCLUDING CONFERENCE, OR, AT LEAST, EXTENT TO WHICH
ALLIES ARE PREPARED TO HANG TOUGH ON POINTS OF CONCERN
IN EFFORT TO OBTAIN SUITABLE COMPROMISES FROM SOVIETS
IN FINAL FEW WEEKS BEFORE AN AGREED END OF STAGE II.
WE SEE ADEQUATE QUADRIPARTITE RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES
(QRR) SAVING CLAUSE AS PERHAPS MAJOR OUTSTANDING US
INTEREST IN PRINCIPLES DECLARATION. ADDITIONALLY, THERE
ARE NUMBER OF QUESTIONS
IN PREAMBLE, NONE OF WHICH ARE PERHAPS IN THEMSELVES
OF VITAL IMPORTANCE BUT TOTAL OF WHICH WILL HAVE
BEARING ON POLITICALLY SIGNIFICANT QUESTION OF RE-
LATIONSHIP OF PRINCIPLES DECLARATION TO OTHER PRODUCTS
OF CONFERENCE INCLUDING CBMS AND BASKET III. END SUMMARY.

2. PRINCIPLES SUBCOMMITTEE HAS BEEN ENGAGED IN
RELATIVELY LEISURELY FASHION FOR NEARLY TWO MONTHS IN
DRAFTING GENERAL CLAUSES , WHICH INCLUDE PREAMBLE,
INTRODUCTORY SENTENCE, AND FINAL CLAUSES. AS BASKET
III PROGRESS HEIGHTENS SPECULATION THAT END OF STAGE
II AND DECISION ON STAGE III MAY BE JUST MATTER OF
WEEKS AWAY (REF A), IT FINDS ITSELF WITH RATHER SUB-
STANTIAL AGENDA STILL BEFORE IT INCLUDING VIRTUALLY
ALL OF PREAMBLE, SIGNIFICANT PROBLEMS IN INTRODUCTORY
SENTENCE, IN KEY SENTENCE OF FINAL CLAUSES, AND ON
QRR, AS WELL AS YET TO BE COMMENCED SECOND READING OF
PRINCIPLES. IN FACT, ONLY PARAGRAPHS OF GENERAL CLAUSES
WHICH HAVE BEEN RECORDED IN JOURNAL AS READY FOR PRO-
VISIONAL REGISTRATION ARE PARAGRAPH ON CONFORMITY
OF PRINCIPLES TO UN CHARTER (REF B) AND FOLLOWING STATE-
MENT OF SUPPORT FOR UN:
BEGIN TEXT: REAFFIRMING, IN CONFORMITY WITH THEIR
MEMBERSHIP IN THE UNITED NATIONS AND IN ACCORDANCE WITH
THE PURPOSES AND PRINCIPLES OF THE UNITED NATIONS,
THEIR FULL AND ACTIVE SUPPORT FOR THE UNITED NATIONS
AND FOR THE ENHAANCEMENT OF ITS ROLE AND EFFECTIVENESS
IN STRENGTHENING INTERNATIONAL PEACE, SECURITY AND
JUSTICE, AND IN PROMOTING THE SOLUTION OF INTERNATIONAL
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PROBLEMS,AS WELL AS THE DEVELOPMENT OF FRIENDLY RE-
LATIONS AND COOPERATION AMONG STATES. END TEXT.
LATTER RELATIVELY INNOCUOUS PARA, HOWEVER,
TOOK FIVE DAYS OF NEGOTIATION HIGHLIGHTED BY CONCERNS
OF SWITZERLAND AND LIECHTENSTEIN THAT TEXT NOT APPEAR
TO COMMIT THEM TO MEMBERSHIP IN UN. BOTH IT AND OTHER
TEXT AGREED AS READY FOR PROVISIONAL REGISTRATION ARE
ACCOMPANIED IN JOURNAL BY STATEMENTS OF RESERVATION

FROM SEVERAL DELS THAT WISH TO WITHHOLD FINAL SUPPORT
UNTIL OTHER ISSUES ARE SETTLED.

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3. SUBCOMMITTEE'S WORK RECEIVED FURTHER JOLT JUNE
4 WHEN ROMANIANS, WHO HAD PREVIOUSLY BEEN ISOLATED IN
THEIR EFFORT TO AMEND DELICATELY BALANCED SENTENCE
ON EQUAL VALUE AND INTERPRETATION OF PRINCIPLES NEGOTIA-
TED BY SOVIETS AND FRENCH AND DESTINED FOR FINAL
CLAUSES (REF E), ENTICED BELGIAN, ITALIAN, CYPRIOT,
GREEK AND SWISS DELS TO EXPRESS INTEREST IN FOLLOWING
CLAUSE INTENDED TO BE ADDED TO END OF SENTENCE:
"SO AS TO ENSURE THE INTEGRAL APPLICATION OF EACH
PRINCIPLE". SOVIETS ARE RUMORED IN CORRIDORS TO BE
ABLE TO ACCEPT THIS AMENDMENT, WHICH NUMBER OF WESTERN
DELS (INCLUDING FRG, WHICH IS PERHAPS MOST INTERESTED
BECAUSE OF ITS RELATION TO PEACEFUL CHANGE OF FRONTIERS)
BELIEVE WOULD OVERWRIGHT BALANCE OF SENTENCE TOWARD
EQUALITY OF PRINCIPLES AT EXPENSE OF THEIR INTERRELATIONSHIP.
IMMEDIATE RESULT OF THIS TACKSLIDING
IS THAT, REGARDLESS OF ANY SHORT TERM PROCEDURAL
SOLUTION WHICH MIGHT BE FOUND FOR DEALING WITH SENTENCE,

ROMANIANS HAVE BEEN ENCOURAGED TO HOLD OUT FOR MAJOR
AMENDMENT WHICH PROMISES LOSS OF WHAT MAY BECOME IN-
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CREASINGLY PRECIOUS TIME.

4. SOVIET REP WADED INTO THIS SITUATION WITH THEATRICALY
AOPLECTIC ATTACK ON SUBCOMMIEEE'S "POLITICAL IRRESPON-
SIBILITY" JUNE 5. BRUNT OF SOVIET ASSAULT, HOWEVER,
WAS DIRECTED AT WESTERN DELS SEEKING TO MAINTIN
POINTS OF INTEREST TO THEM RATHER THAN AT ROMANIANS
OR NEUTRALS, AND WE WOULD EXPECTCONTINUATION
OF THIS SORT OF TACTIC IN DAYS TO COME. AS WE REVIEW
REMAINING SUBCOMMITTEE WORK, WE ARE INCLINED TO RATE
QRR AS HIGHEST REMAINING US PRIORITY. PAST WEEKS
HAVE DEMONSTRATED DIFFICULTY OF FINDING ONE FORMULA
AGREEABLE TO FOUR POWERS, TWO GERMAN STATES, NATO
ALLIES AND NEUTRALS. LATTER GROUP HAS GREQUENTLY
QUESTIONED NEED FOR ANY QRR SAVING CLAUSE BECAUSE
THEY CONSIDER THAT LEGAL RIGHTS OF FOUR POWERS IN
GERMANY CANNOT BE AFFECTED BY POLITICAL DOCUEMENT WHICH
IS NOT TREATY. THERE MAY, AS TIME PRESSURES BUILD, BE
INCREASING TEMPTATION FOR OTHERS TO URGE THIS LINE OR
THAT FOUR POWERS REVER TO DEVICE OF SEPARATE DISCLAIMER.
GIVEN NATURE OF GENERAL STATEMENTS ALREADY IN PRINCIPLES
DECLARATIOON, HOWEVER, WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT IT
IS NECESSARY TO OBTAIN INCLUSION OF SENTENCE WHICH WILL
READ, AT LEAST TO COGNOSCENTI, AS CLEAR INDICATION THAT
QRRS ARE PART OF MODERN POLITICAL REALITY WHICH CSCE
HAS HELPED SHAPE AND NOT FRAIL ANACHRONISM. WE ALSO
CONTINUE TO RECEIVE INDICATIONS FROM FRG
THAT IT WOULD BE VERY UNHAPPY IF GERMAN SITUATION WERE
HIGHLIGHTED BY SPECIAL FOUR POWER DISCLAIMERS. SINCE
WE ARE DEMANDEUR ON THIS ISSUE, WE SHOULD PROBABLY BE
SATISFIED THAT WE HAVE AGREEMENT OF SOVIETS AND KEY
NEUTRAL DELS ON GENERALLY ACCEPTABLE SENTENCE BEFORE
FINAL DECISION ON STAGE III TIMING IS TAKEN.

5. BEYOND QRR, PRINCIPLES DECLARATION APPEARS TO US
TO BE IN FAIRLY GOOD SHAPE. THERE ARE NUMBER OF
BRACKETS IN VIRTUALLY EVERY PRINCIPLE, OF COURSE, BUT
IN GENERAL WE CAN GIVE QUIET SUPPORT TO ALLIED
POSITIONS AND PARTICIPATE IN INEVITABLE LAST-MINUTE
TRADEOFFS WITOUT CONCERN THAT OUR MAJOR INTERESTS ARE
AT STAKE. PREAMBLE AND INTRODUCTORY SENTENCE TO DECLARATION
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I A BIT MORE DELICATE, HOWEVER. SINCE DECLARATION IS POLITICAL RATHER THAN A LEGAL DOCUMENT, THEIR TONE CAN BE HIGHLY IMPORTANT IN DETERMINING ASSESSMENTS OF SIGNIFICANCE OF DECLARATION, ITS RELATIONSHIP TO OTHER DOCUMENTS SUCH AS THOSE ON CBMS AND BASKET III, AND INDEED ON MEANING OF CSCE EXERCISE. ALLIES, AT LEAST AT THIS STAGE, HAVE EXPRESSED DETERMINATION IN CAUCUS TO FIGHT HARD TO ENSURE THAT PREAMBLE PROPERLY REFLECTS ALLIED INTERESTS IN EMPHASIZING IMPORTANCE THEY ATTACH TO COOPERATION AND HUMAN RIGHTS ASPECTS OF DETENTE AS WELL AS PEACE AND SECURITY AND IN AVOIDING LANGUAGE THAT GIVES UNDUE PROMINENCE TO PRINCIPLES DECLARATION. SOVIETS, ON OTHER HAND, ARE CLEARLY PREPARED TO TRY TO USE PREAMBLE AS MEANS TO UPGRADE PRINCIPLES DECLARATION AND TO EMPHASIZE ASPECTS OF PRINCIPLES THAT THEY HAVE PARTICULAR INTEREST IN.

6. CASE IN POINT IS PROPOSED UK ADDITION TO INTRODUCTORY SENTENCE (PARA 5 OF REF B) OF "ALL" IN SUCH A WAY THAT IT WOULD MAKE CLEAR THAT "PRIMARY SIGNIFICANCE" APPLIES TO EQUAL VALUE OF PRINCIPLES VIS A VIS EACH OTHER RATHER THAN VIS A VIS OTHER CONFERENCE DOCUMENTS. SOVIETS INDICATED THEY WOULD ACCEPT AMENDMENTS TO SENTENCE MAKING CLEAR INTERRELATIONSHIP OF PRINCIPLES (FOR EXAMPLE BY SPEAKING OF "THE FOLLOWING TEN PRINCIPLES OF PRIMARY SIGNIFICANCE") BUT STONILY REJECTED UK PROPOSAL. WHEN THAT PROPOSAL RECEIVED SUPPORT FROM OTHER WESTERN DELS, INCLUDING US, JUNE 5, SOVIET REP SHOUTED OPPOSITION ACROSS TABLE WITHOUT ASKING FOR FLOOR AND THEN OSTENTATIOUSLY LEFT ROOM 20 MINUTES BEFORE ADJOURNMENT ANNOUNCING HE HAD ANOTHER COMMITMENT.

7. ALLIES REMAIN PREPARED TO DEAL ON PARTICULAR POINTS OF PREAMBLE, INCLUDING "ALL" ISSUE IN INTRODUCTORY SENTENCE, BUT INTEND TO DO SO IN WAY WHICH ASSURES OVER-ALL SATISFACTORY PRODUCT. IMMEDIATE TACTICS INCLUDE TO INSIST ON AT LEAST RETAINING "ALL" IN BRACKETS IN INTRODUCTORY SENTENCE AND TO RELEGATE EASTWARD LEANING FINNISH DRAFT PREAMBLE TO STATUS OF ONLY ONE OF FOUR ON TABLE WHEN DRAFTING BEGINS IN EARNEST ON MAIN ELEMENTS

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OF PREAMBLE NEXT WEEK. WITHOUT MAKING ANY SINGLE PART OF PREAMBLE LIFE OR DEATH ISSUE, WE ARE INCLINED TO CONTINUE TO SUPPORT ALLIED EFFORT TO OBTAIN SATISFACTORY OVER-ALL RESULT ON THIS DRAFTING EXERCISE WHEN IF IT MEANS ENGAGING IN SOME NEGOTIATING POKER AGAINST THE CLOCK WITH SOVIETS AS THEY TRY TO PUSH CON-

REFERENCE TO CONCLUSION. DALE

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